

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 AID-05 IO-13 /083 W
-----036530 151532Z /41

O R 151145Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4489
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MBABANE 1296

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINR SHUM WZ
SUBJECT: PAC EXPLUSION FROM SWAZILAND: ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING ARE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
THAT EMERGE FROM INFORMATION AVAILABLE AS OF APRIL 15
CONCERNING GOS DETENTIONS OF PAC ACTIVISTS AND THEIR
SWAZI SUPPORTERS OVER THE PAST WEEK. WE CONCLUDE WITH
POLICY CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDED COURSES OF ACTION.
END SUMMARY.

2. CONCLUSIONS. (A) THE GOS DETENTION OF PAC ACTIVISTS
AND SOME SWAZI SYMPATHIZERS WAS CARRIED OUT AS A RESULT OF
PAC CENTRAL COMMITTEE (PAC/CC) RESPONSE TO SWAZI INITIATIVE AND
BASED ON INFORMATION IT SUPPLIED TO GOS. AS MINIMUM, PAC/CC
CONCURRED IN DETENTIONS AND MAY HAVE REQUESTED THEM;
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(B) THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT GOS HAD TOLERATED
PAC ACTIVITY, ASSUMING THAT GOS COULD NOT HAVE FAILED
TO BE AWARE OF PAC ACTIVITIES INCLUDING THOSE DIRECTED
AGAINST SAG AND TO CONVERT REFUGEE AND SWAZI STUDENTS;
(C) SAG AND PAC/CC INTERESTS HAPPENED TO CONVERGE
ON THE ISSUE OF ENDING PAC/S (SWAZILAND) ACTIVISM.
GOS/SAG INTERESTS SIMILARLY COINCIDED IN THAT BOTH

WANTED PAC CONTROLLED, ALTHOUGH FOR DIFFERENT REASONS:
THE GOS TO AVOID RISK OF RETALIATORY SAG ACTION;
THE SAG TO ELIMINATE A SOURCE OF ARMS AND TRAINED
PERSONNEL FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN RSA;

(D) THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT GOS DECISION WAS TAKEN
AT SAG BEHEST OR THAT THERE WAS SAG-GOS COORDINATION
OF SECURITY FORCES;

(E) GOS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE
AGAINST PAC/S TO CRACK DOWN ON PAC SYMPATHIZERS AND
STUDENT ACTIVISTS AMONG SOWETO STUDENTS. THE LATTER WERE
IMPLICATED MOST RECENTLY IN CONTRIBUTING TO OCTOBER 1977
STUDENT RIOTS;

(F) GOS TACTIC LAST OCTOBER AND AGAIN NOW IN HANDLING OPPOSITION
IS SUPPRESSION. WITH CONSTITUTION SUSPENDED, ALL EFFECTIVE
POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE KING, AND NO SYSTEM OF
REPRESENTATION TO CHANNEL GRIEVANCES OR DISSENT, GOS
IS FREE TO INTERPRET WHAT IT CONSIDERS TO BE THREAT
TO GOS SECURITY AND IS SUBJECT TO VIRTUALLY NO
RESTRAINT IN USE OF SUPPRESSION AS A MEANS OF
ENFORCING AND RETAINING CONTROL. WHILE GOS GENERALLY
ACTS HUMANELY AND WITH RESTRAINT WHERE SWAZIS ARE
CONCERNED, IT DEALS HARSHLY WITH WHAT IT INTERPRETS AS
THREATS TO SECURITY;
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(G) GOS DETENTION OF PAC/S AND SWAZI SYMPATHIZERS IS
BEING PUBLICLY JUSTIFIED ON GROUNDS OF THREAT TO
NATIONAL SECURITY WITH PAC/CC HAVING APPARENTLY
PROVIDED KEY EVIDENCE;

(H) AS LONG AS KING SOBHUZA IS IN POWER, GOS USE OF
DETENTION TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND STIFLE DISSENT WILL
NO DOUBT CONTINUE. ALL EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT WHERE
REGIME SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE IN CONFLICT, THE
GOS' PRIORITY GOES TO PRESERVING SECURITY, REGARDLESS
OF OUTSIDE CRITICISM;

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MBABANE 1296

(I) US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY HAS BECOME A SOMEWHAT
INHIBITING FACTOR ON GOS, PARTICULARLY WHEN RIGHTS ARE RELATED TO
AID LEVELS. GOS REACTED IN WRITING TO THE ANNUAL REPORT ON
HUMAN RIGHTS (SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS LAST JANUARY) AND
THERE IS GOOD EVIDENCE THAT RELEASE BY GOS OF FOUR
DETAINEES EARLY THIS YEAR WAS RELATED TO US INTER-
VENTION. HOWEVER, GOS REACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES
HAS BEEN GRUDGING AND MINIMAL, KNOWING THAT "LIBERALIZA-
TION" OF SWAZI POLITICAL SYSTEM WOULD MEAN THAT THE
TRADITIONAL MONARCHY COULD NOT LONG SURVIVE
IN ITS PRESENT FORM;

(J) INITIAL US STEPS TO SENSITIZE GOS ON HUMAN
RIGHTS HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY CALCULATED AND QUIETLY
EXECUTED BECAUSE OF OUR REALIZATION THAT A SUDDEN
DEPARTURE OR DOWNFALL OF KING SOBUZA
WOULD NOT ONLY DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY BUT PROBABLY
RESULT IN A REGIME LESS FRIENDLY TO THE US AND LESS
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COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS OF REGIONAL PROBLEMS.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS. (A) WE BELIEVE US POLICY AND
COURSES OF ACTION TO DATE REMAIN CORRECT AND APPLICABLE
IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. PRINCIPAL RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE
POLICY ARE TO SUPPORT SWAZI INDEPENDENCE, STRENGTHEN
STABILITY AND DEFUSE THREAT OF RADICALIZATION;
(B) IN ACHIEVING THESE GOALS WE HAVE IN THE PAST AND
SHOULD CONTINUE TO AFFIRM OUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

WHEN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITIES ARISE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH
OFFICIALS AND INFLUENTIAL PERSONS; E.G, RE SWAZIS BEING
DETAINED IN CURRENT CRACKDOWN;

(C) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THE LINK BETWEEN
HUMAN RIGHTS AND AID LEVELS AS SUGGESTED IN POLICY
DOCUMENTS, COMMENT ON AID OBJECTIVES AND MOST
RECENTLY IN SADAP PAPER;

(D) WE SHOULD AVOID PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS WHICH FOR
A TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND SYSTEM SUCH AS GOS WOULD ONLY
STIMULATE DEFENSIVE REACTION AND MAKE CONCESSIONS ON
HUMAN RIGHTS MORE DIFFICULT;

(E) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO USE AID LEVELS AS A LEVER
FOR OPENING DIALOGUE WITH GOS ON MEANING AND OBJECTIVES
OF ALL ASPECTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY;

(F) IN RECOMMENDING THESE COURSES OF ACTION, WE HAVE
NO ILLUSIONS THAT GOS REPRESSION CAN DO MORE THAN DELAY
THE DAY WHEN GOS WILL HAVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH MODERN
ATTITUDES OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT.
HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE OUR INTERESTS, EITHER
IMMEDIATE OR LONG TERM, WOULD BE SERVED BY TAKING SIDES
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IN WHAT IS COMBINAION OF PAC INTERNAL DISPUTE AND GOS
HANDLING OF WHAT IT BELIEVES (AND WE CANNOT DISPROVE)
IS THREAT TO GOS SECURITY. WE WILL BE PARTICULARLY
ALERT TO THE EXTENT TO WHITCH GOS DETENTIONS ARE RELATED,
I.E., IN PRESS STATEMEN AND IN PUBLIC MIND, TO PAC/CC
INITIATIVE. IF THE RELATIONSHIP BECOMES CLEAR, THEN WE
WOULD NOT WANT TO BE IN A POSITION OF APPEARING TO
DEFEND A FREE LANCE LIBERATION MOVEMENT
IN THIS VOLATIVE REGION OF THE WORLD.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: EXPULSION, DETENTION, LIBERATION FRONTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MBABAN01296
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780162-0810
Format: TEL
From: MBABANE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780452/aaaabsiy.tel
Line Count: 210
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2c1428ad-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2956324
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PAC EXPLUSION FROM SWAZILAND: ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
TAGS: PINR, SHUM, WZ, PAC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2c1428ad-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014